DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 273 954 CS 209 943

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TITLE Newspapers and Freedom of Expression: Minnesota Press Reaction to Suppression during the World War I Era: 1912-1920.
PUB DATE Aug 86
NOTE 48p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (69th, Norman, OK, August 3-6, 1986).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; *Editorials; *Freedom of Speech; Journalism; *News Reporting; *News Writing; *Press Opinion
IDENTIFIERS *First Amendment; Journalism History; Minnesota; *World War I

ABSTRACT

Through a case study of Minnesota daily newspaper editorials, this paper examines the extent to which one state's newspapers championed the freedoms of speech and press during the national crisis of World War I. The historical relationship of the press and First Amendment defense is briefly reviewed. Guided by the question "How did the Minnesota daily press react to wartime suppression?" analyses of editorials from a sample of dailies during three months in 1918, four months in 1912, and three months in 1920 provide material for interpretation. Minnesota's population and repression record are profiled and the climate of the war era is discussed. Five hypotheses and their underlying rationales generated by five general questions about support and suppression of freedom of speech asked in the research are presented and explored. Findings indicating a lack of First Amendment defense are elaborated in five points, further supported in tables and figures, while a list ranks newspapers according to support for suppression. It is concluded that (1) editorials in the nineteen dailies studied failed to uphold the speech and press rights not only of unpopular minorities but also of commercial newspapers, and (2) further research beyond the exploratory stage could both intensify and extend this study. Sixty-one footnotes and a six-page reference list are appended. (JK)

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ED273954

Student Paper, History Division
AEJMC Convention, August 3-6, 1986
Norman, Oklahoma

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NEWSPAPERS AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION: MINNESOTA PRESS REACTION TO SUPPRESSION DURING THE WORLD WAR I ERA: 1912-1920

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NEWSPAPERS AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION: MINNESOTA PRESS REACTION TO SUPPRESSION DURING THE WORLD WAR I ERA: 1912-1920

A "Cato" letter in John Peter Zenger's New-York Weekly Journal in 1734 declared, "Freedom of Speech is the great Bulwark of Liberty; they prosper and Die together."[1] Although similar statements about free speech and press have appeared in newspapers throughout America's history,[2] many scholars argue that the press often fails to support such ideals in practice. The press is guided by narrow self-interest, they say, rather than broad principles of free speech and press; it insists upon its own freedom but does not support freedom for unpopular minority speech and the dissident press.[3] Scholars also have argued that the commercial press acts as a conservative force in American society and frequently acquiesces in government efforts to secure popular support for suppressive policies aimed at social control -- policies that in effect curtail, or threaten to curtail, important speech and press freedoms.[4] The purpose of research reported here was to examine, through a case study of Minnesota daily editorials, the extent to which one state's newspapers championed such freedoms during a severe national crisis -- World War I.

Little systematic research has been done on the degree to which the press defends the constitutional source of its own freedom, the First Amendment. Yet the question is important, because as Americans increasingly turn to the mass media for information in a complex world, what the media say about freedom to dissent and about other vital speech and press freedoms will

be of continuing concern.

From colonial times, some level of tension has existed in American society between freedom of speech and press and other, conflicting, interests -- a tension that has escalated during crises, particularly the internal and external crises produced by war.[5] Legal historian Fredrick S. Siebert, after a study spanning 300 years of English history, incorporated this tension into a theoretical "proposition" that "[t]he area of freedom contracts and the enforcement of restraints increases as the stresses on the stability of the government and of the structure of society increase."[6]

As the Siebert proposition and the historical record suggest, speech and press freedoms lose strength in the interest of more urgent concerns, such as national security, during times of national crisis. How, then, does the press itself react to such suppession? This is the central concern of research reported here. The focus has been on press behavior during a particular crisis -- wartime -- with "press" and "press behavior" referring primarily to manifest press content, rather than behavior of individual members of the press. Does the press defend abstract principles of free speech in wartime? Does it generally support suppressive measures, oppose them, or maintain a neutral stance?[7]

To begin to explore these questions, editorial reaction to legal and extralegal suppression in one state -- Minnesota -- was examined for the World War I era. Specific research questions and methods are described below, following a brief review of

literature about press attitudes, in general, toward suppression.

The Siebert proposition, which suggests that freedom contracts and restraints increase when government and society are under pressure, has not been tested systematically[8] -- and that was not the intent of this research. However, it is a serviceable framework for an overview of speech and press freedoms in American history. Historical evidence shows the Siebert proposition most clearly supported by conditions during military crises, but conditions during certain non-military crises also support it.[9]

Yet while many scholars have described and attempted to explain restrictions on free speech and press in crisis times, few have focused on press reaction to restrictions, and their interpretations vary. Some argue that the press generally favors suppression, particularly of unpopular minority speech, while others concentrate on instances in which the press opposes suppression. Still others contend that the press criticizes suppression only if it directly affects the press itself.

Among research suggesting press support for suppression, John Stevens' empirical examination of the Wisconsin press in World War I showed that the state's newspaper editors voiced little concern about the free speech and press implications of the 1917 Espionage Act and other internal security laws passed during the war; on the contrary, they welcomed such measures and called for even stricter laws, with heavier penalties, to curtail seditious utterances.[10] Likewise, John Lofton's survey of press reaction to First Amendment issues spanning nearly two centuries

of American history, concludes that, with few exceptions, the mainstream press in particular has tended to support government and extralegal efforts to suppress views at odds with the dominant political and social orthodoxies of the times.[11]

On the other hand, Dorothy Bowles' research on press reaction to freedom of expression during two crisis times (1920 and 1940) found that editorials in 16 major dailies from across the nation largely reflected support for free speech and that such support was not contingent on whether the suppression directly affected the newspapers.[12]

Finally, in an effort to quantify self-interest as a predictor of press reaction to First Amendment issues, F. Dennis Hale compared Supreme Court decisions issued between 1966 and 1975 that affected both speech and press, found greater news coverage and more favorable commentary about press-related decisions than those relating to speech, and concluded that the press is largely self-serving in its attitudes toward freedom of expression.[13]

During World War I and the immediate post-war years, government restrictions on free speech and press were more widespread than at any previous time in America's history. At least 2,000 individuals, primarily German-Americans, pacifists, Socialists, and labor radicals, were indicted during the war under the federal Espionage Act of 1917 and its 1918 amendment (the Sedition Act), in most cases for allegedly disloyal expression.[14] The historical record suggests that, during World War I, many newspapers editorially supported both legal and extralegal suppression

of speech and press rights of radicals and others suspected of disloyal views, while they opposed restraints affecting the mainstream press itself. Press support for suppression declined in the post-war years, however, when events of January, 1920, particularly the New York Legislature's refusal to seat five duly elected Socialist assemblymen, led many Americans to recognize that suppressing the freedom of a few might potentially jeopardize the freedom of all.[15] This research attempted to determine how the daily press of one state -- Minnesota -- reacted to suppression in the same era.

THE METHOD

The general question guiding the research was: How does the press react to wartime suppression? More specifically, how did the Minnesota daily press react to suppression during the World War I era? Recognizing that even in a relatively homogeneous state, such as Minnesota, a state's entire press does not speak with one voice, the research sought to identify the dominant reaction of the newspapers as a whole -- that is, whether the Minnesota daily press in general supported, opposed, or was neutral to wartime suppression of free speech and press. Editorials were analyzed in a sample of dailies during three months in 1918, when the nation was at war, and four months in 1912 and three months in 1920, before and after the war.[16]

Minnesota newspapers were selected for study because the state had a large German-American population through the Progressive Era (1899-1918), and a substantial number of Socialists, pacifists, Nonpartisan League farmers, and labor radicals --

particularly members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) -- all of whom were among the main targets of suppression in Minnesota during World War I.[17] While this ideological and population mix was not extraordinary in the nation at the time, some scholars have argued that enforcement of sedition and other anti-free speech laws was more stringent in the Upper Midwest and the plains states because of long-standing labor and farm disputes.[18]

A second reason for studying Minnesota's press was the state's unusually severe repression during the war. Such repression came primarily from the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, which seemed to try to regulate nearly every aspect of public and private life during the war,[19] and from a state sedition law, passed even before the federal Espionage Act, that led to at least 18 prosecutions and an important U.S. Supreme Court case.[20] Thus, it was expected that the suppression issue would be highly visible, in the form of much discussion and debate, in the Minnesota press during the war.

The daily press was studied cause more editorial commentary on suppression was expected in dailies than weeklies. Dailies tend to be located in socially heterogeneous metropolitan areas and larger towns, and research has shown that such papers are more likely than their rural counterparts to takes stands on controversial issues.[21]

The World War I period was selected because, with the widespread occurrence of suppression, greater editorial discussion of

the issue was expected then than during many other historical periods and because the war years marked the beginning of a basic transformation in the law governing freedom of expression.[22]

The pre-war comparison year 1912 was selected because it predated open hostilities that began in Europe in 1914, and because some groups, primarily the IWW and the Socialists, were raising free speech issues before the war. Further, 1912 marked the height of Socialism and the Socialist press in America, and the IWW's "free-speech fight" campaign and related activities peaked in 1912.[23] The post-war comparison year 1920 was chosen because suppression did not cease with the signing of the Armistice in October, 1918, and the issue of speech and press freedom remained visibly in the news after the war. In particular, the first weeks of 1920 brought the Palmer Raids, named after Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, in which government agents arrested more than 5,000 suspected alien radicals and tried to deport them.[24] At the same time, Congress considered some 70 peacetime sedition bills aimed at eradicating alien "reds" and "parlor Bolshevists" -- intellectuals who gave both moral and financial support to communist organizations.[25]

The general questions asked in research were: How did the Minnesota daily press react to suppression of free speech and press during World War I? Did it support the general principles of speech and press freedom? What did press commentary say about repressive acts against the unpopular groups and individuals who were the main targets of wartime suppression? Did it appear to make a difference to the members of the press whether the sup-

pression, or potential suppression, directly affected newspapers themselves? Finally, did editorial content reflect different reactions to these issues before and after the war? The five hypotheses generated are presented with underlying rationales below.

1. **In all time periods, a majority of editorials will support free speech and press when they are discussed in abstract terms.**

Hypothesis 1 is based on both historical and sociological sources. From the late 1800s, the psychology of nativism, by which the native-born fought to maintain dominance over the immigrant, had permeated American thinking and institutions.[26] America's entry into the war in April 1917 gave added force to the nativist impulse, and "100% Americanism" became the standard by which patriotism was measured.[27] It was expected that newspaper editors and writers, like most Americans with a stake in society at the time, would be eager to express their patriotism by supporting traditional American values, including the broad principles of free speech and press. Not to support such principles might be seen as "unAmerican."

Hypothesis 1 receives additional support from contemporary research on antidemocratic beliefs among Americans. Sociologist Gail L. Zellman cites research that finds nearly unanimous support among various segments of the American population for the abstract principles of freedom of expression, as measured by statements such as: "I believe in free

speech for all no matter what their views might be."[28] While newspaper editors and publishers were not singled out in the surveys regarding abstract free speech principles, there is little reason to believe that members of the news media would be less supportive of these principles than would the general population. Indeed, there is some evidence that, if anything, newspaper publishers as a group are more libertarian than the general public.[29]

As many scholars have argued, however, Americans in general, and the American press in particular, have not always supported free speech and press in concrete situations, especially the speech and press rights of unpopular minorities. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was generated:

2. **In all time periods, a majority of editorials will support suppression of groups or individuals identified as seditious, or as threats to national security and traditional American values.**

Recent sociological research suggests that Americans are less inclined to support free speech and press when asked about concrete situations, particularly when referents such as communists are involved.[30] Free speech attitudes are better predicted by attitudes toward the group or individual in question than by adherence to abstract principles.[31]

History suggests that during the first two decades of the twentieth century, an atmosphere of hostility toward the foreign-born, or "hyphens," hung over the nation; Minnesota was no exception. Early in the war, Americans vented most

of this hostility on German Americans. But American anti-Germanism was generalized and not directed against any particular German trait.[32] This vague nativism combined with general war hysteria caused many middle-class Americans to lose the ability to distinguish among the various groups they feared. As a result, all groups and individuals regarded as "unAmerican" in any way -- from the simple German-born farmer to the radical IWW organizer -- were perceived as serious threats to the war effort.[33] In many parts of the country, press content corresponded to public perception of such groups and individuals.[34]

The next two hypotheses address anticipated differences among the three time periods studied. Hypothesis 3 stated:

3. **A greater number of editorials will support suppression during the war than either before or after the war.**

The weight of historical evidence leads to an expectation of greater support for suppression during the war than either before or after the war. The issues of free speech and press were not high on the public agenda before the war, and, after the war, in January, 1920, several newspapers editorialized <u>against</u> some forms of governmental suppression.[35] Sociological theory and research also reinforce Hypothesis 3. As the level of perceived threat increases, tolerance tends to decrease, because crisis situations tend to submerge the rationality needed to insure that abstract principles of free speech are applied in concrete situations.[36] Hence, it was expected that, during the war, power-

ful emotions would prevail over reason, generating press support for suppression -- support that might not be visible in calmer times.

An understanding of the "war-within-a-war" taking place in Minnesota in 1918 provides additional support for the expectation that the press would be more likely to endorse suppression during the war. The state's business community, which was closely linked to the conservative Republican state government, deeply feared the Nonpartisan League, which had seized control of the North Dakota legislature in 1916.[37] The League publicly supported the war effort but was labeled "disloyal," by state authorities, local citizens, and members of the mainstream press.[38] Consequently, the organization bore the brunt of the state's wartime suppression efforts, with the most intense repression occurring during the League's state primary election campaign in the spring of 1918.[39] By the war's end, the organization was nearly destroyed.[40] To the extent that the daily press can be said to be part of the business community, one would expect it to support business and government efforts to destroy the Nonpartisan League.[41]

As many scholars suggest, however, a high degree of perceived threat persisted in the immediate post-war years, as "Red hysteria," and, while some newspapers editorially opposed some forms of suppression in 1920, they supported other forms of suppression during that year.[42] Thus, Hypothesis 4 was generated.

4. **Of the two non-war periods, a greater number of editorials will support suppression in 1920 than in 1912.**

The final hypothesis related to newspaper self-interest. Hypothesis 5 stated:

5. **In all time periods, a majority of editorials will <u>oppose</u> sup-pression that clearly and directly affects newspapers themselves.**

In many respects, the war (and to an extent, the immediate post-war period) created an "us-versus-them" atmosphere within the nation, with zealous patriotism on one side and anything less than total, enthusiastic support for America's war effort on the other. With few exceptions, most mainstream newspapers fell in the "us" camp.[43] Hypothesis 5 is based on the assumption that while newspapers might editorially support suppression of "them" -- unpopular minority groups and individuals -- they would not approve their own suppression, that is, suppression of the mainstream press itself.

To explore the hypotheses, 19 Minnesota daily newspapers were selected for analysis over all three time periods.[44] The 19 newspapers ranged in daily circulation size from 1,250 (Fairmont <u>Sentinel</u> published in Martin County in southwestern Minnesota) to 120,834 (Minneapolis <u>Tribune</u>, Hennepin County, southeast-central Minnesota). The smallest city represented in the sample had a population of 4,000 (Fairmont) and the largest, 343,466 (Minneapolis). Five dailies from the state's three major metropolitan areas (Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth) had circulations over 30,000. The other 14 had daily circulations of 5,400 or less.

Thirteen newspapers were identified as Republican, one as Independent Republican, three as Independent, and two as Democratic.

The sample reflects the pattern of political identification characteristic of the Minnesota press during the period, with Republican newspapers in greatest abundance, followed by Independent newspapers, followed by relatively few Democratic newspapers. In addition, the sample represented all the state's geographical areas except extreme northern Minnesota.

Editorials were analyzed in three months of newspapers for 1918 and 1920, and four months for 1912. For 1912, January, February, March, and September editorials were studied because of highly visible IWW free-speech struggles at that time, particularly a months'-long battle in San Diego (see note 23). September was added to the 1912 sample to permit searching for reaction to an IWW-backed free-speech struggle in Minneapolis-St. Paul that month and to broaden the range of time studied during a year in which little relevant commentary was anticipated. In 1918, March, April, and May editorials were analyzed because that spring marked the height of war hysteria in Minnesota. In addition, several critical events nationally during these months included debate on and passage of the 1918 Sedition Amendment, the mob lynching of a German-born man in Collinsville, Illinois, and the arrests of several Nonpartisan League members for conspiracy and sedition. For 1920, January, February, and March editorials were studied on the assumption that newspapers might reveal reaction to "Red hysteria" and major events of January,

1920 -- the Palmer Raids, the debate over peacetime sedition laws, the New York Legislature's refusal to seat five Socialist assemblymen, and the refusal of the House of Representatives to seat Socialist leader Victor Berger.

To try to obtain an overall profile of the newspapers studied, and to enable comparisons among reactions to the same events, editorials in all 19 dailies were examined on the same dates, using a "constructed-week" sample.[45] Two Sunday-less weeks of six days each were created for the three-month time periods in each year. The sample yielded 760 editions, or 17 percent of the total universe of 4528 editions. In all, 5,025 editorials were read, or an average of 6.6 editorials per edition. Of these, 191 editorials contained relevant content and were coded.

Editorials[46] were coded for reaction to issues involving 1) free speech and press in <u>abstract</u> terms;[47] 2) suppression of <u>groups</u> or <u>individuals</u> identified as seditious,[48] and 3) suppression directly affecting <u>newspapers</u> themselves.[49] Each relevant editorial was analyzed for positive, negative, and neutral reaction to suppression. "Positive," as used here, meant support for suppression (or abstract free speech), "negative" meant opposition, and "neutral" meant a balanced reaction -- that is, one in which both, or all, sides of the issue in question were given equal weight. Direction was decided on the basis of the coder's overall impression of the editorial's stance on whatever action or idea was being discussed. While some editorials used words and phrases clearly indicating a position, such as "should" for support, and "should not" for opposition, others communicated a

position through tone, style, and more subtle diction. All elements were taken into consideration when deciding direction. Fourteen editorials were coded in the abstract category, 169 in the group/individual category, and eight in the newspaper category.

THE FINDINGS

The findings suggest that, for the most part, the Minnesota press did not defend First Amendment freedoms during the World War I era, except in principle, and that support for suppression was considerably stronger during the war than the non-war periods. The findings support all but one of the five hypotheses.

Editorials in the 19 dailies studied reflected little understanding of the free speech implications of wartime and post-war suppression. A majority of editorials endorsed both legal and extralegal suppression of groups and individuals identified as seditious, but, at the same time, defended the broader abstract principles of speech and press freedom. Only a few attempted to address the contradictions implicit in these two positions. Members of the press apparently were willing even to support direct suppression of commercial newspapers, at least during the spring of 1918, which marked the height of war hysteria; however, they opposed restraints on newspaper freedom in the non-war years as well as suppression of a pro-war editor. The press was far more supportive of suppression of all kinds during the war than either before or after the war, and more supportive in the post-war period than in 1912. (But like much of the nation's press, many

Minnesota newspapers editorially condemned the refusal of the New York legislature to seat five duly elected Socialists in January, 1920.) The findings support four of the five hypotheses. Specific findings, in relation to the hypotheses, are discussed below.

1. **The press was more supportive of the broad principles of free speech and press than of the speech and press rights of radicals and other minorities.**

Fourteen editorials in the ten-month, 19-newspaper study discussed the broad principles of free speech and press, and not a single editorial opposed such principles (see Table One). Thus, hypothesis 1, which predicted that editorials would endorse free speech and press when discussed in abstract terms, was supported.

Also supported, however, was hypothesis 2, which predicted editorial approval of suppression of groups or individuals identified as seditious. One hundred sixty nine editorials discussed either group or individual suppression. Before and after the war, as well as during the war, only 13 editorials out of the 169, or 7% of all 191 relevant editorials, criticized actions abridging the speech and press rights of radicals and other unpopular minorities, while 152 (80% of all relevant editorials) approved of such actions, and four editorials were neutral (see Table One). For example, Minneapolis Journal editorial writers apparently saw little inconsistency between a March 28, 1918, editorial criticizing the federal government for withhold-

TABLE ONE
Press Reaction in All Categories According to Year

Support +
Oppose −
Neutral 0

N = 191

	Abstract*	Group/Ind. Suppression			Newspaper Suppression		
	+	+	−	0	+	−	0
1912 N=4 (2%)	1	1	0	0	0	2	0
1918 N=128 (68%)	8	109	3	3	4	1	0
1920 N=59 (31%)	5	42	10	1	0	1	0
Total	14	152	13	4	4	4	0

Percentages are of total.

* No negative or neutral editorial reactions to free speech and press in abstract terms were coded.

TABLE TWO
Types of Editorials Discussing Suppression Directly Affecting Newspapers*

N = 8

Support (+) N=4

Suppression	# Editorials
Arrest of editor for sedition (1918)	2
Expulsion of editor from press assn. (1918)	2

Oppose (−) N=4

Suppression	# Editorials
Foreign censorship of war news (1912)	1
NP Publicity Law (1912)	1
Patriotic ed. harassed (1918)	1
Restrictive content law (1920)	1

* No neutral editorials were coded in this category

ing unpleasant war news while declaring that the "truth is the only sound basis for a democracy in war or peace,"[50] and a subsequent editorial of April 10, 1918, praising the 1918 Sedition Act and suggesting that "seditious" people were responsible for mob violence against them.[51]

Of 5,025 editorials read, only one explicitly opposed suppression of radicals on the ground that such suppression could potentially restrict free speech for all. The editorial, in the February 2, 1920, Winona Republican Herald, concerned a statement by U.S. District Court Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis that the U.S. Constitution should be amended to permit execution for treason. After gently chiding the judge for the statement, the editorial concluded:

> [I]f we should begin to limit free speech, how would Judge Landis explode when he feels like advocating "force and violence" in the treatment of those with whom he happens to be at the moment in political disagreement?/52

Overall, however, the editorials studied reflected no conceptual connection between free speech in theory and in practice, or recognition that suppression of a few could lead to the suppression of many. This lack of understanding was most apparent in the war and post-war years.

2. The press was more supportive of repressive acts during the war than before and after the war./53

The discrepency between press support for free speech in principle and lack of support in specific situations was even more marked during the war. In 1918 newspapers, 128 relevant editorials were coded in all three content categories. Of these,

eight favored speech and press in abstract terms. But 111 -- well over four-fifths of all 1918 editorials -- endorsed repressive acts against groups or individuals identified as seditious, three were neutral, and only three opposed repressive acts (see Table One). (The remaining five 1918 editorials were coded in the newspaper category, which is discussed below.) In contrast, in 1912, of four relevant editorials in all categories, one supported free speech and press in abstract terms, and only one favored repressive acts against groups or individuals (see Table One). (The remaining two 1912 editorials opposed suppression directly affecting newspapers.) The 1920 editorials reflected greater support for suppression than 1912 editorials, but less support than 1918 editorials. Fifty-nine relevant editorials were coded in all categories for 1920. Of these, five defended free speech and press in abstract terms, 42 (or 71% of relevant 1920 editorials) favored repressive acts, one was neutral, and ten opposed repression (see Table One). (The remaining 1920 editorial opposed suppression directly affecting newspapers.)[54]

The data presented in Table One support hypothesis 3, which predicted greater editorial approval of suppression during the war than in the non-war years. The findings may reflect the influence of specific social and political conditions in Minnesota during the war, particularly the political battle between the Nonpartisan League and the combined forces of state government and conservative business interests -- including many members of the daily press.[55] Typical of anti-League commentary is this

rhyming editorial in the March 16, 1918, St. Cloud Journal Press:

> Mark that day lost, whose low descending sun/ does not see some grand jury indicting [League leaders Arthur C.] Townley and [Joseph] Gilbert, the sons-of-gun./56

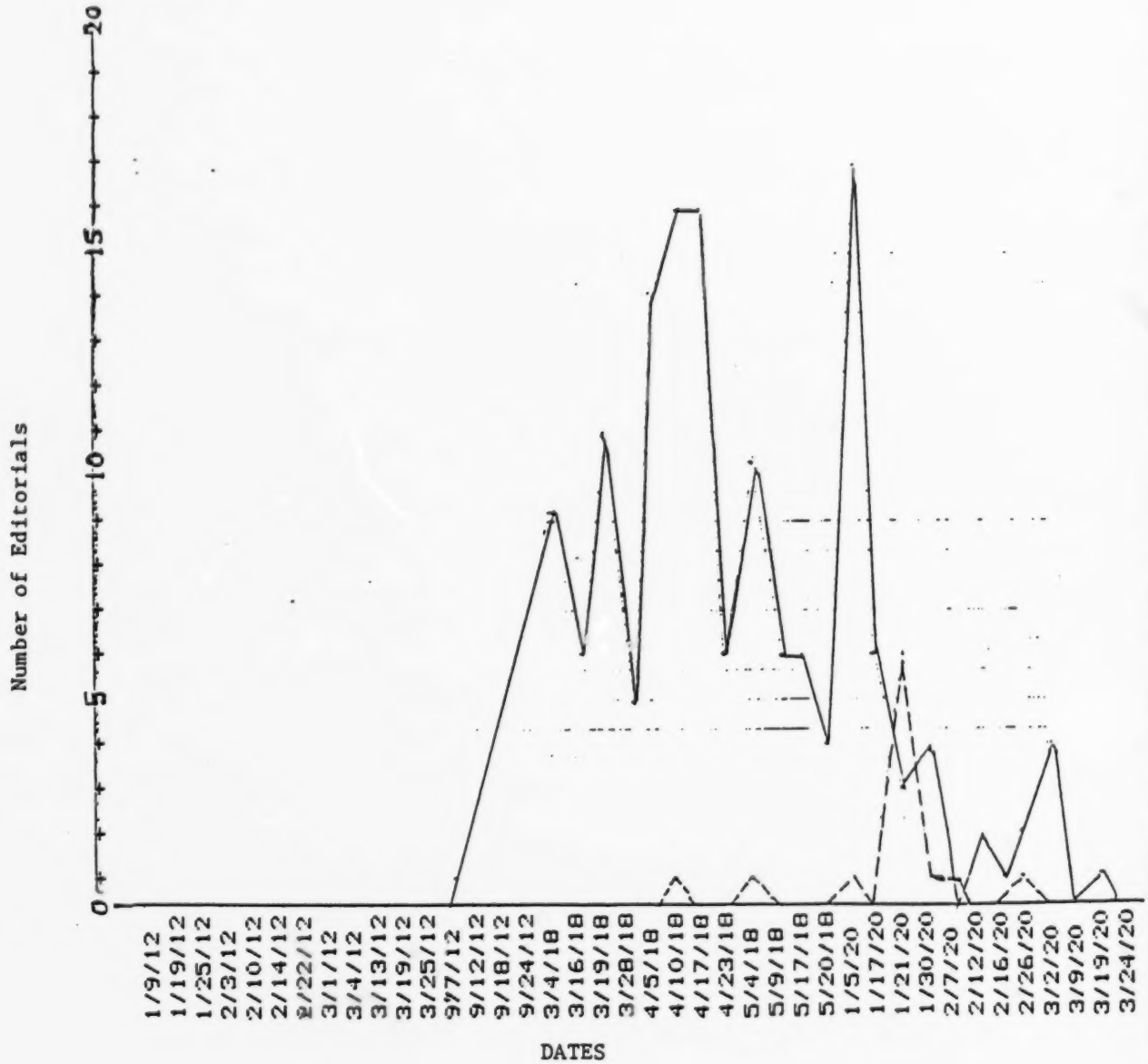
3. The Minnesota press endorsed suppression during the post-war period, but such support abruptly declined in late January, 1920, a pattern that corresponds to the national backlash against repressive acts in early 1920.

In general, reaction in Minnesota newspapers studied for 1918, 1920, and, to some extent, 1912, reflected what has been said of the nation's press reaction. In 1912, editorials studied that discussed suppression and free speech were relatively tolerant; but, during the war, tolerance vanished. The newspapers studied continued to endorse repressive acts early in 1920, thus giving support to hypothesis 4, which anticipated greater approval of suppression in 1920 than in 1912. But such support gradually began to subside by late January 1920.

One can observe support for repressive acts begin to decline in a month-by-month examination of editorials over the years studied. (Figure One illustrates the pattern of editorial reaction to repressive acts against groups or individuals identified as seditious over the ten-month period.) Editorials supporting repressive acts were almost non-existent in 1912, increased in 1918, peaked in mid-April of that year, and then diminished by late May. Support for repressive acts peaked again in the first week of January, 1920, and then declined abruptly over the next 11 weeks. Opposition to repressive acts was almost insignificant in all newspapers examined until January 26, 1920, when it sud-

FIGURE ONE

Support for and Opposition to Suppression
Over Ten Months



Support:Solid Line

Opposition: Broken Line

denly rose. Neutral reactions were scarcely noticeable in the ten months studied.

Perhaps the mid-April increase in support for repressive acts was related to then-current Congressional debates over more stringent sedition legislation, an issue about which many editorial writers commented. It is perhaps most interesting, however, that the greatest number of editorials supporting suppression was recorded on January 5, 1920, while the greatest number opposing suppression was recorded only a few weeks later, on January 26, 1920. Such a finding is consistent with what appears to have been the pattern of press reaction nationwide in 1920 -- that is, there was early support for the Palmer Raids, which began January 2, but support receded in the wake of controversy over the refusal of the New York legislature in mid-January to seat five Socialist assemblymen. Four of the six anti-repression editorials recorded on January 21 concerned the New York Socialists.

No editorials studied opposed any of the proposed peacetime sedition bills, although many newspapers nationwide did. Of five editorials mentioning the bills, all favored such legislation as a safeguard against revolutionary aliens. Nevertheless, the sudden reversal of opinion on repressive acts was striking. For example, the arch-conservative Stillwater Gazette, which had openly encouraged lynch mobs in wartime editorials and endorsed the most drastic sedition bills, published a January 21, 1920, editorial that abruptly dismissed Red hysteria as a fad, charging Americans to "quit seeing ghosts in the palaver of fools, and Red in the sky."[57]

Interestingly, on January 17, just a few days before this editorial appeared, the Gazette declared:

> Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; always has been and always will be. At the present time it is doubly true. Keep the home fires burning, your powder dry and if any man attempts to haul down the American flag shoot him on the spot./58

5. Most members of the press apparently did not see wartime suppression as a threat, or potential threat, to important press freedoms.

The data offer little evidence to suggest that members of Minnesota's daily press believed wartime suppression -- including suppression of commercial newspapers themselves -- could set a dangerous precedent for further erosion of press freedoms, such as the right to criticize the government without fear of prior restraint or subsequent punishment. Editorial commentary on press-related issues and First Amendment freedoms suggested that the press was motivated largely by commercial self-interest and partisanship rather than a broader concern for press freedom.

As discussed earlier, the editorials revealed a vigorous defense of the abstract principles of free speech, but an unwillingness to apply such principles in concrete situations, when the free speech rights of unpopular minorities were involved.

A similar unwillingness was evident in editorial reaction to suppression of newspapers. Eight editorials in the ten months discussed repressive acts and policies affecting newspapers. Of these, four (all in 1918) approved of such repression and four opposed it. Hypothesis 5, therefore, was not supported, because it predicted that a majority of editorials would oppose suppression that clearly and directly affected newspapers.

Table Two gives a brief discription of each editorial and indicates the year the editorial appeared.[59] These findings suggest that, at least in four cases, editorial writers defended press freedoms only when it was in their organizational or economic interest to do so, or when they agreed with the views of the suppressed writer.

Of particular interest are the four editorials, all from 1918, that supported suppression of newspapers. Two of the editorials endorsed the sedition arrest of a newspaper editor/publisher (Paul Dehnel), and two approved of the Minnesota Editorial Association's expulsion of another editor/publisher (Albert Steinhauser) (see Table Two). Both Dehnel and Steinhauser were connected to general-circulation, English-language commercial newspapers -- that is, they were not radical editors like Victor Berger. Both men, however, were German-born, and their political views were somewhat controversial.[60] Thus, it is possible that members of the daily press studied saw the newsmen as outsiders, even though both were successful commercial publishers. If press members did indeed regard Dehnel and Steinhauser as not being part of the mainstream press, the assumption behind hypothesis 5 -- that the press would not be expected to support its own suppression -- could still be valid even though the hypothesis was not supported by the evidence gathered here.

Another possible explanation for Minnesota newspaper failure to defend press freedom during the war relates to the specific wartime months studied. Spring of 1918 brought particularly in-

tense superpatriotism and fear of "Hun propaganda." Had Dehnel and Steinhauser been suppressed in less hysterical times, even a year earlier, perhaps some of their colleagues would have supported them.[61]

NEWSPAPERS RANKED ACCORDING TO SUPPORT FOR SUPPRESSION

Although the research was concerned primarily with press reaction to suppression, and not with differences among the newspapers studied, it became clear during data collection that differences existed. Some newspapers published a greater number of editorials than others, both on general issues and on issues relating to free speech/press and suppression. In addition, some newpapers had more editorials expressing support for suppression than others. For example, 40 -- or nearly one-fifth -- of the 191 relevant editorials coded were found in the Stillwater Gazette, an extremely conservative publication, and all but one of the 40 editorials endorsed suppression. (The Gazette also had more editorials on all issues than any of the other newspapers studied). On the other hand, the Fairmont Sentinel had only two relevant editorials and the Hibbing Tribune, one. Although each of the editorials endorsed suppression, these papers could not be regarded as supportive of suppression as the Gazette, because no comment frequently is a comment in itself.

Table Three presents a ranking of the 19 newspapers studied, in descending order of support for repressive acts against groups and individuals identified as seditious. The papers also were grouped according to high, medium, and low levels of support for suppression. The ranking was based on a "suppression score"

TABLE THREE
Ranking of Newspapers
According to Support for Suppression

N = 19

	Newspaper	Circ.*	Region	Party ID*	Suppression Score**	
1.	Stillwater Gazette	1,400	East	Rep.	.66	
2.	Mankato Free Press	5,345	South	Rep.	.65	High
3.	Bemidji Pioneer	1,390	N'west	Rep.	.52	
4.	Minneapolis Tribune	120,834	SE Cen.	Rep.	.48	
5.	Red Wing Republican	2,430	S'east	Rep.	.42	
6.	St. Cloud Journal Press	2,489	Central	Rep.	.42	
7.	St. Paul Dispatch	67,199	East	Ind.	.31	
8.	Rochester Post-Record	1,987	S'east	Rep.	.30	Medium
9.	St. Paul Pioneer Press	55,072	East	Ind.	.21	
10.	Fergus Falls Journal	2,645	West	Rep.	.20	
11.	Austin Herald	2,000	S'east	Rep.	.19	
12.	Virginia Virginian	2,565	N'east	Rep.	.18	
13.	Minneapolis Journal	103,154	SE Cen.	Ind.Rep.	.18	
14.	St. Cloud Times	2,236	Central	Dem.	.13	
15.	Little Falls Transcript	1,380	Central	Rep.	.13	
16.	Duluth Herald	31,261	N'east	Ind.	.09	
17.	Hibbing Tribune	3,500	N'east	Rep.	.08	Low
18.	Winona Republican Herald	4,649	S'east	Rep.	.08	
19.	Fairmont Sentinel	1,250	S'west	Dem.	.07	

* Circulation figures, geographical location, and party identification information are from Ayer's Newspaper Annual and Directory for 1917.

** The suppression score represents the total number of editorials found in each newspaper, in both war and non-war periods, that supported repressive acts against groups and individuals identified as seditious divided by the total number of all editorials found.

obtained by dividing the number of pro-repression editorials in each paper by the total number of all editorials read for that paper. In other words, the suppression score represented the percentage of pro-suppression editorials found in each newspaper. This method produced a ranking that conformed most nearly to a qualitative ranking -- based on editorial tone, intensity and sophistication of opinions expressed, and type of suppression supported -- that developed during research. For example, editorials in the Winona Republican-Herald, the Duluth Herald, and the Minneapolis Journal, seemed relatively moderate and thoughtful: Such editorials did not condone violent mob actions nor firing squads for those convicted of sedition. At the other end of the scale, editorials in the Stillwater Gazette seemed to reflect an eagerness to eliminate anyone failing to conform to a narrow definition of patriotism, while Mankato Free Press editorials repeatedly called for the deportation of Arthur Townley and Victor Berger.

As Table Three data suggest, support for suppression was found among newspapers of all sizes, geographic locations in the state, and political affiliations, although Republican papers tended to rank higher than Independent and Democratic papers. Since the research did not address the questions of differences in circulation size, region, or party identification, further study is needed to determine if such factors are related to editorial reaction to suppression.

CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In summary, the research found that, overall, editorials in the 19 dailies studied failed to uphold not only the speech and press rights of unpopular minorities but of commercial newspapers as well. The editorials unanimously endorsed freedom of expression in principle, but refused to extend such freedom to German-Americans, radicals, and others who were the targets of repression during, after, and, to an extent, before the war. Press support for repressive acts was strongest in 1918, remained strong in early 1920, but weakened by February, 1920. In general, editorial commentary revealed an apparent willingness among members of the press to place internal security interests over speech and press freedoms, with little visible concern for the long-term implications of wartime suppression. Data from the 191 relevant editorials analyzed supported all but one of five hypotheses generated during research.

The research reported here was exploratory and covered a limited time period, but future research could both intensify and extend this study. For example, research could compare in depth the internal structures of two or more news organizations as well a their relationship to other institutions and organizations in their communities to determine who made certain editorial decisions and, possibly, why such decisions were made. Research also could examine the Minnesota press in the context of the state and national political economy and the role of the press in the early 20th century power struggle between capitalism and a fledgling radical labor movement. Finally, the research could be extended

over time to examine press reaction to suppression at other crisis times in America's history.

This research has been limited to a case study, and, thus, no generalizations based on it are possible. But future research might focus on other states, or across state and across newspapers types, so that generalizations might be derived.

NOTES

1. Cato was the joint pseudonym of Whig political journalists John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. Their essays were first published in London newspapers in 1720 and, between 1733 and 1755, the collected essays went through six editions. The essay quoted is titled "Of Freedom of Speech," reprinted in Zenger's New York Weekly-Journal February 18, 1934. See Leonard W. Levy, ed.,Freedom of the Press from Zenger to Hamilton (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1966), pp. 10-14.

2. For example, an unsigned editorial in the December 4, 1982, Minneapolis Tribune "Americans have an stake in freedom of expression, not just at home, but all over the world."

3. See F. Dennis Hale, "A Comparison of Coverage of Speech and Press Verdicts of Supreme Court," Journalism Quarterly 56: 43-47 (Spring 1979); John Lofton, The Press as Guardian of the First Amendment, (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press: 1980); John D. Stevens, "Press and Community Toleration: Wisconsin in World War I," Journalism Quarterly 46: 255-59 (Summer 1969), and Stevens, Shaping the First Amendment: The Development of Free Expression (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982).

4. See, for example, Todd Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), Lauren Kessler, The Dissident Press, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984), and Graham Murdock, "Political Deviance: Press Presentation of a Militant Mass Demonstration," in S. Cohen and J. Young, eds, The Manufacture of News (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1973): 156-175.

5. Clinton Rossiter, in Constitutional Dictatorship, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), makes this argument. He suggests that a nation not only does, but must, restrict freedoms during a crisis such as war in order to preserve those very freedoms. See especially pp. 3-14. For a more critical perspective, see, for example, Vincent Blasi, "The Pathological Perspective and the First Amendment," Columbia Law Review 85:4 (April 1985), 449-514, and Claus Offe, Contradictions of the Welfare State (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), especially pp. 162-178.

6. Fredrick Seaton Siebert, Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), p. 10. Siebert advanced two propositions relating to freedom of the press. Proposition I states: "The extent of government control of the press depends on the nature of the relationship of the government to those subject to the government." Siebert, op. cit., p. 10.

7. These questions are of more than casual interest because the press is a prime beneficiary of First Amendment freedoms, and, in some views, has a social responsibility to help maintain diversity in the "marketplace of ideas." (See, for example, the findings of the Commission on Freedom of the Press A Free and Responsible Press, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947)). Indeed, even before the ratification of the Bill of Rights in 1791, the press played a prominent role in the battle for freedom of expression during the formative years of the republic. (See Philip Davidson, Propaganda and the American Revolution: 1763-1783, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1941) and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., Prelude to Independence, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1957)). Moreover, whether the press shapes, reinforces, or merely reflects, public opinion and public policy, it has been through history, and continues to be, one of the most influential institutions in American society. Much recent communication research focuses on the long-term cognitive effects of mass media and their role in shaping the way people perceive and organize reality. (See, for example, Peter Clarke and F. Gerald Kline, "Media Effects Reconsidered: Some New Strategies for Communication Research," Communication Research I: 224-40 (1974)). Thus, examination of press reaction to restraints on speech and press freedoms may provide insight into the ways freedom of expression operates in American democratic society as a whole.

8. Communication scholars Donald L. Shaw and Stephen W. Brauer conducted a "limited historical test" of the Siebert proposition in "Press Freedom and War Constraints: Case Testing Siebert's Proposition II," Journalism Quarterly 46: 243-254 (1969).

9. Among the major military crises reinforcing the Siebert proposition are the American War for Independence, during which Tory publishers were frequently suppressed by patriot mobs and colonial legislatures (see Schlesinger, op. cit., pp. 189, 298, 295-298); the Civil War, during which President Abraham Lincoln shut down two dissenting New York newspapers (see Robert S. Harper, Lincoln and the Press, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951), pp. 289-303) while both Lincoln and President Jefferson Davis suspended the writ of habeas corpus (see James M. Smith and Paul L. Murphy eds., Liberty and Justice, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 211), and World War I, during which the state at all levels engaged in massive suppression of dissident speech and press through sedition laws and other legislation (see, for example, Stevens, "Press and Community Toleration: Wisconsin in World War I," Zechariah Chafee, Free Speech in the United States (New York: Atheneum, 1969),

and Paul L. Murphy, World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1979). The major non-military crises supporting the Siebert proposition are first, the late 1700s during which the Federalist-dominated government enacted the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and used these laws and the common law of seditious libel to prosecute several prominent Republican editors critical of the government (see James Morton Smith, Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Acts and American Civil Liberties (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956), and second, the pre-Civil War era (around 1830-1860), which brought widespread and illegal postal censorship of abolitionist materials as well as a wave of anti-abolitionist mob violence that, in 1837, led to the murder of abolitionist editor Elijah Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois (see Russel B. Nye, Fettered Freedom (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 42, 69-71, 80-81, 145-149).

10. Stevens, "Press and Community Toleration."

11. Lofton, op. cit.

12. Dorothy Bowles, in "Newspaper Support for Free Expression in Times of Alarm," Journalism Quarterly 54: 271-279 (Summer 1977)

13. Hale, op. cit.

14. Within weeks after the United States declared war on Germany and the Central Powers on April 6, 1917, Congress enacted several internal-security laws aimed at silencing criticism thought to be endangering the war effort. The main instruments of legal suppression were the Espionage Act of 1917, the 1918 Sedition Act, the Trading-With-the-Enemy Act, and Threats Against the President Act. Several states passed sedition laws of their own, of which Minnesota's was among the most severe.

    In addition, a mood of intolerance descended upon the nation soon after the war declaration, as angry citizen mobs attacked German-Americans and others thought to be disloyal.

    Then, in the wake of post-war unemployment, labor unrest, and resurgent radicalism, "Red hysteria" replaced war hysteria, and the alien radical and the "Bolshevist" became the new target of state suppression. In late 1919 and early 1920, federal authorities arrested, and attempted to deport, nearly 5,000 suspected alien Communists while Congress considered some 70 peacetime sedition bills. (See, generally, Zechariah Chafee, Free Speech in the United States (New York: Atheneum, 1969); Paul L. Murphy, World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States (New York: W.

W. Norton & Co., 1979); H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War: 1917-1918, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1957), and Stevens, "Press and Community Toleration" and Shaping the First Amendment).

15. Chafee, p. 275.

16. The research technique used is called content analysis. Content analysis has been defined in many ways, but the definition most pertinent to this research is that of Bernard Berelson, who defines content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." Berelson, Content Analysis in Communications Research, (New York: Free Press, 1952), p. 18. For further discussion of content analysis, see, for example, Richard Budd, Robert K. Thorpe, and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), and Klaus Krippendorff, Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology, (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980).

17. According to the 1910 Census, slightly more than one quarter of Minnesotans were native-born whites of native parentage, while 25 percent were of foreign or mixed parentage. One-fifth of the population had been born in Austria or Germany, or had German or Austrian parents. See Carol Jenson, "Agrarian Pioneer in Civil Liberities: The Nonpartisan League in Minnesota During World War I," unpub. Ph.D. dissertation (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1968), p. 51. In addition, Minnesota's agrarian-reform movement had a long history, one that began in the late nineteenth century with the Grangers, the Alliance, and the Populists; the Nonpartisan League, both in Minnesota and its state of origin, North Dakota, developed out of this tradition. (Jenson, pp. 25-28) From 1907, the Industrial Workers of the World was active on the Northern Minnesota Iron Range, and, in 1916 in Minneapolis, organized labor, heavily influenced by the Socialists, elected a Socialist Mayor, Thomas Van Lear. See Carl Chrislock, The Progressive Era in Minnesota: 1899-1918 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1971), pp. 116-118, 127.

18. See, for example, Stevens, Shaping the First Amendment, p. 50.

19. The Minnesota Commission of Public Safety was created on April 16, 1917, by the Minnesota legislature and was empowered "to do all acts and things non-inconsistent with the constitution or the laws of Minnesota or of the United States which are necessary or proper for the public safety and for the protection of life. . .and property. . . ." (Minn. Laws (1917), Ch. 261, Sec. 3).

20. Gilbert v. Minnesota, 254 U.S. 325 (1920). Then-Assistant U.S. Attorney General John Lord O'Brien, wrote that the law "increased discontent, and the most serious cases of alleged interference with civil liberty were reported to the federal government from that state." ("Civil Liberty in War Time," John Lord O'Brian, 42 Rep. N.Y. Bar Assn. 275, 291 (1919), quoted in Chafee, p. 289.

21. Research has shown that editors of rural and small-town newspapers are less likely to take on controversial issues than their metropolitan counterparts. See Philip J. Tichenor, George A. Donohue, and Clarice N. Olien, Community Conflict and the Press (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980) pp. 96-104.

22. Murphy, World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States, pp. 30-31.

23. David Kairys, "Freedom of Speech," in The Politics of Law (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), p. 141; Paul Frederick Brissenden, The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920), p. 218. The IWW waged a national campaign of "free speech fights" in which a Wobbly spokesperson would attempt to speak in a public place, such as a city park. The speaker typically would be arrested, but only to be replaced by another Wobbly, until the all the jail space in a given town was full. In some cities, the fights were successful, winning unpopular minorities the right to speak openly and publicly. In other cities, however, particularly in the western United States, angry citizens brutally attacked and beat the speakers.

24. On the Palmer Raids, see, generally, Robert K. Murray, The Red Scare: A Study of National Hysteria, 1919-1920 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955) and William Preston, Jr., Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933 (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

25. Murphy, The Meaning of Freedom of Speech: First Amendment Freedoms from Wilson to FDR (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972), p. 86.

26. John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925 (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 158.

27. Ibid., pp. 207-217.

28. Gail L. Zellman in "Antidemocratic Beliefs: A Survey and Some Explanations," Journal of Social Issues 31(2): 31-53 (1975). Although the data Zellman presents come from research conducted several years after the World War I era,

the concepts are discussed in such broad terms that they may be applied, with qualifications, to many different periods in American history.

29. See Stanley A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1955), pp. 31-52.

30. Zellman, pp. 32-33.

31. Ibid., p. 45.

32. Higham, p. 198.

33. Chrislock, pp. 130-163.

34. Stevens, "Press and Community Toleration," pp. 255-259.

35. Bowles, pp. 275-279.

36. Zellman, pp. 42-45.

37. Jenson, pp. 65-66, 86-87.

38. Ibid., pp. 146-148.

39. Ibid., p. 5.

40. Ibid., p. 6.

41. Many scholars maintain that the press tends to support the status quo and, in controversies, generally sides with the business community, of which it is a part. See, for example, Kessler, op. cit., and Graham Murdock and Peter Golding, "Capitalism, Communication, and Class Relations," in J. Curran, M. Gurevitch, and J. Woollacott, eds., Mass Communication and Society (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977). Peterson and Fite, op. cit., advance this position in a more time-specific vein.

42. Bowles, p. 276.

43. O. A. Hilton, "Freedom of the Press in Wartime 1917-1919," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly XXVII(4): (March, 1948), pp. 353-354.

44. The newspapers for 1918 were chosen first, and then, to try to examine change and/or consistency of editorial reaction over time, the same newspapers were analyzed for all three years. Of the 49 dailies listed in Ayer's Annual Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals for 1917, 38 were general-

circulation, English-language dailies. (The other ten were foreign-language and special-interest dailies.) Only 27 of the 38 dailies were preserved at the Minnesota State Historical Society, the central depository for the state's newspapers. In some cases, newspapers that were available for 1918 were not available for 1912 or 1920, and efforts to locate issues proved unsuccessful. This reduced the number of dailies for study to 19. All descriptive data on the 19 dailies studied were taken from Ayer's.

45. Communication researchers Robert L. Jones and Roy E. Carter, Jr., developed the constructed-week procedure to estimate "news hole," or non-advertising space, in newspaper content analysis. A constructed week consists of an artificial "week" of newspaper editions selected over a longer time span -- for example, three weeks. See Robert L. Jones and Roy E. Carter, Jr., "Some Procedures for Estimating 'News Hole' in Content Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly 23: 399-403 (1959). The constructed-week technique often is used to reduce the number of items needed to obtain a reliable sample. For example, the techique was used by Donald L. Shaw ("News Bias and the Telegraph: a Study of Historical Change," Journalism Quarterly 44: 3-12, 31 (Spring, 1967). Shaw found that a sample of three days a month produced results substantially the same as results of a sample of six days a month.

46. Editorial was defined as an unsigned article, of any length, consisting primarily of commentary on issues and events of broad contemporary interest, which appears in a general-circulation newspaper on the same page as, and typically directly below, the masthead, and which at least appears to hve been written by someone working in some capacity with that newspaper. Commentary was defined as any statement or group of statements that express opinions or values, or make recommendations about the course of public policy.

47. Free Speech and Press, used interchangeably with "freedom of expression, referred to the right to speak (free speech) or write (free press) any public or private communication, and to receive and communication, without prevention or fear of subsequent punishment by government or society.

Free Speech and Press in the Abstract was defined as discussion of free speech and press as defined above without explicit or clearly implicit reference to a specific group or individual as the recipient of the rights nor any other contextual cues. An example would be a reference to the people's right to hear.

48. Suppression was defined as any action by government (legal), society (extralegal), or both, that clearly prevents or

threatens to prevent any spoken or written expression, or punishes or threatens to punish such expression after it has been uttered. Example would include passage of the federal Espionage Act of 1917 and mob beatings of radicals and suspected disloyalists.

Groups or individuals identified as seditious referred to persons, individually or collectively, that government, or popular opinion, or both, have declared to be unpatriotic, disloyal, anti-war, anti-American, sympathetic to America's enemies, subversive, or disruptive or public peace and tranquility. The designation may or may not have been true. Examples would include the Nonpartisan League and Victor Berger.

49. Newspaper was defined as a general-circulation publication regularly printed and distributed, usually daily, weekly, semi-weekly or semi-monthly, which contains news, opinions, advertisements, and other items of general interest. An example would the the New York Times. The definition excluded the foreign-language press and newspapers whose primary purpose is to communicate a particular political philosophy (such as the Nonpartisan Leader).

50. "Keeping It From the People," Minneapolis Journal, March 28, 1918, p. 14.

51. "Partisanship and Sedition," Minneapolis Journal, April 10, 1918, p. 14.

52. "Tut, Tut Judge!" Winona Republican-Herald, February 7, 1920, p. 10.

53. The issue of freedom of expression also was more salient during the war years, and more salient in 1920 than in 1912. One hundred twenty-nine editorials -- more than two-thirds of all editorials coded -- appeared in 1918. Of the remaining editorials, only four appeared in 1912 while 58 appeared in 1920. These findings are consistent with the argument advanced by Murphy and others, that free speech first emerged as a public-policy issue during World War I and the immediate post-war years. See Murphy, World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties.

The suppression issue was so ubiquitous in 1918 that anti-sedition themes appeared not only in the commentary columns but in retail advertisements as well. The April 11, 1918, Minneapolis Journal carried an ad for shoes, which read:

> Make War on Traitorous Feet -- Wear the Rice & Hutchins Educator Shoe.
>
> After a long walk or a hard walk or a hard day's work,

your feet go back on you -- traitors to you in this time of national crisis. You can't afford to harbor traitors. . . .)

54. These findings are consistent with those of Stevens, whose 1969 study of the Wisconsin press and public opinion during World War I found that state's dailies not only failed to defend the rights of war dissenters, but called for more stringent sedition laws (Stevens, "The Press and Community Toleration: Wisconsin in World War I," pp. 256-257). The findings also corroborate Lofton's conclusions that "[t]here was almost total abdication by the general circulation press of any responsibility to uphold freedom for dissent." (Lofton, p. 281).

55. Anti-league attitudes were perhaps most prevalant among metropolitan editors, but small-town editors also had reason to fear the League. The League threatened small-town hegemony with competition from farmer cooperatives as well as League-owned newspapers. The threat to the existing order led many small-town businessmen, including editors, to abandon progressivism in the interest of maintaining the status quo. See Chrislock, op. cit.

56. Untitled editorial, St. Cloud Journal-Press, March 16, 1918, p. 4. Even some of the more moderate papers editorialized against the League, particularly its leaders, including the Fairmont Sentinel, whose editor, Frank Day, a progressive Democrat, generally seemed to maintain a balanced, half-humorous, and even aloof attitude toward controversial issues about which other editors wrote emotionally. According to the Mankato Free Press, the Sentinel "did do some flirting with the (Nonpartisan) League when the organization was young in this state." (April 18, 1918, p. 4)

57. Untitled editorial, Stillwater Gazette, January 21, 1920, p. 6.

58. Untitled editorial, Stillwater Gazette, January 17, 1920, p. 4.

59. Three of the four editorials opposing newspaper suppression concerned actions unrelated to the war or to internal security matters. Of the two 1912 editorials, one criticized attempts by foreign governments to censor American newsmen reporting on conflicts around the world. The other protested as unconstitutional passage of the Newspaper Publicity Law, a rider to the Post Office Appropriation Act of August 24, 1912, that required publishers using second-class mailing permits to file periodic sworn statements disclosing various organizational and business information, including average circulation. A 1920 editorial opposing newspaper

suppression, which also reflected business concerns, criticized a proposed New York law that would limit headline and headline-type size over articles about murders. The sole editorial opposing newspaper suppression during the war concerned the alleged harassment of a patriotic newspaper editor who refused to remove the American flag symbol from his masthead. The newspaper, the Glencoe (Minnesota) Enterprise, served a heavily German American community. (Another 1918 editorial condemned German suppression of a Belgian underground newspaper, but this editorial was not coded because the publication, La Libre Belgique, was published irregularly and, thus, did not fit the definition of newspaper used in the research).

60. Dehnel had been a delegate to the 1912 Bull Moose Republican Convention and had started several successful newspapers in Minnesota. He was indicted under the Espionage Act in the spring of 1918, along with Minnesotan James A. Peterson, a Republican candidate for U.S. Senate, for articles critical of the government's war effort published in Dehnel's St. Paul-Minneapolis weekly, the American. Both men were convicted in federal district court, but the convictions were later overturned in the U.S. Supreme Court. Dehnel, who did not become a U.S. citizen until after the war, was classified as an enemy alien and interned at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, until the war's end. (See obituary, Minneapolis Star-Journal, June 10, 1946, p. 11) Steinhauser's New Ulm Review, a liberal Democratic weekly, had editorially criticized wartime suppression, particularly the campaign against German culture, and had supported a congressional resolution exempting German-Americans from service on the French battlefields. Steinhauser's paper also helped publicize a massive New Ulm antidraft rally on July 25, 1917, which led to the Minnesota Public Safety Commission's firing of the New Ulm mayor and city attorney. (See Chrislock, p. 140)

61. An additional point is that editorials were not analyzed during the debates over passage of the Espionage Act in the spring of 1917, when newspapers across the nation protested a provision of the bill that would have allowed the President to censor the press (see, for example, Murphy, World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties, pp. 77-78). It is possible that the Minnesota press may have joined in that protest.

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Hibbing Tribune
Little Falls Transcript
Mankato Free Press
Minneapolis Journal
Minneapolis Tribune
Red Wing Republican
Rochester Post-Record
St. Cloud Journal-Press
St. Cloud Times
St. Paul Dispatch
St. Paul Pioneer Press
Stillwater Gazette
Virginia Virginian
Winona Republican-Herald

Dates

1912	1918	1920
Jan. 9	Mar. 4	Jan. 5
Jan. 19	Mar. 16	Jan. 17
Jan. 25	Mar. 19	Jan. 21
Feb. 3	Mar. 28	Jan. 30
Feb. 10	Apr. 5	Feb. 7
Feb. 14	Apr. 10	Feb. 12
Feb. 22	Apr. 17	Feb. 16
Mar. 1	Apr. 23	Feb. 26
Mar. 4	May 4	Mar. 2
Mar. 15	May 9	Mar. 9
Mar. 19	May 17	Mar. 19
Mar. 25	May 20	Mar. 24
Sep. 7		
Sep. 12		
Sep. 18		
Sep. 24		